DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 085 435 UD 013 908

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TITLE	The Black Studies Movement in Higher Education. The NCRIEEO Newsletter, Volume 3, Number 4, March 1973.
INSTITUTION	Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y. National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity.
SPONS AGENCY	Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C. Div. of Equal Educational Opportunities.
PUB DATE	Mar 73
NOTE	16p.; Reprint of "Some Implications of the Black Studies Movement for Higher Education in the 1970's" Journal of Higher Education, v44
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	*Administrator Attitudes; *African American Studies; College Curriculum; College Programs; *College Teachers; Curriculum Development; Educational Administration; Educational Change; Ethnic Studies; *Higher Education; Race Relations; Research Problems; Social Sciences; *Sociology; Universities

ABSTRACT

For five years colleges and universities have encountered the black studies movement; they will never be quite the same again. The phrase "black studies" is used to refer to those programs and departments which may have different designations but are highly similar in content to black studies: Afro-American studies, race and ethnic studies, African and Afro-American studies, and possibly other variants. Directly and deeply affected have been white sociologists whose expertise is in the field of race and ethnic relations. For them the experience with black studies has been at once puzzling and painful. Both their professional competence and their personal motives have been publicly questioned. During the past year the author has visited more than 50 campuses around the country and has conducted interviews with 150 white sociologists who, like him, have invested much time and much of themselves in the systematic exploration of race relations. In addition, more than 40 directors or associate directors of black studies programs and a smaller number of other social scientists were interviewed. The data gathered is used here as a starting point for an examination of some of the implications of black studies for higher education in the 1970's, focusing on their significance for administration, teaching, and research. (Author/JM)

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Vol. III, No. 4 **March 1973**

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The Black Studies Movement in Higher Education

by Wilson Record

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For five years colleges and universities have encountered the black studies* movement; they will never be quite the same again. Directly and deeply affected have been white sociologists whose expertise is in the field of race and ethnic relations. For them the experience with black studies has been at once puzzling and painful. Both their professional competence and their personal motives have been publicly questioned. That white professors in other fields—history, political science, economics, psychology, and anthropology—have been similarly discounted is a source of no great consolation.

During the past year I have visited more than 50 campuses around the country and have conducted interviews with 150 white sociologists who, like me, have invested much time and much of themselves in the systematic exploration of race relations.** In addition, I have interviewed more than 40 directors or associate directors of black studies programs and a smaller number of other social scientists [19, pp. 10-11]. *(Please see page 15 for numbered references.)*

I propose here to use the data gathered as a starting point for an examination of some of the implications of black studies for higher education in the 1970's, focusing on their significance for administration, teaching, and research. In this paper I will be most concerned with research to which I will turn after a brief review of developments in the first two areas.

Black studies programs on campus are distinctive in several respects: the way they were organized, the development of their curricula, the selection of faculty and staff, the admission and evaluation of students, and the approach to and conduct of research. In each instance the more-or-less standardized procedures for innovation in the university were either challenged directly or effectively circumvented. That some of the resulting changes may have been desirable or long overdue should not be permitted to obscure the possibility, indeed the probability, that serious threats to open teaching and to open research are inherent in the specific measures adopted. Nor should we assume that with the return of racial peace, or at least a racial truce, to campus, the thrust of black studies will increasingly accord with the rest of the university structure. The very structure itself may have been affected deeply and permanently [13, pp. 11-12; 17, pp. 297-316; 22, pp. 5-7].

*I shall use the phrase "black studies" to refer to those programs and departments which may have different designations but are highly similar in content to black studies: Afro-American studies, race and ethnic studies, African and Afro-American studies, and possibly other variants.

**The research reported in this paper was conducted with grants from the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, the American Philosophical Society, and Portland State University.

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POWER AND DECISION-MAKING

Few academic people need to be reminded of the unusual circumstances in which black studies programs were introduced on hundreds of college and university campuses during the last several years. While not all of them were ushered in by confrontations and physical violence, these instruments were by no means ruled out. Indeed, they were effectively used by black studies advocates at a wide range of institutions, from Cornell on the one hand to San Francisco State on the other [3, pp. 59-60; 6, pp. 79-100; 14, pp. 57-78; 7, p. 39].

In such circumstances, where demands were being made for drastic changes in a short period of time,

the established processes of faculty and administrative decision-making proved inadequate. Many deliberative steps were bypassed in a hurried effort to establish some kind of racial peace, or at least a truce, which would permit the central activities of the university to be carried on [24, p. 194]. Administrators in many cases made sweeping concessions to black militants, which had serious implications for departments and their faculties, with whom there was not even minimal consultation. For example, new courses were authorized without submitting the prospectuses for review to those departments with offerings similar to those proposed. Curriculum committees were not allowed to judge proposals about which they had serious misgivings, but which they might have endorsed after careful weighing and discussion.

It should be emphasized, however, that most of the departments in the social sciences and humanities, toward which the black studies thrust was directed, had only vaguely, if at all, anticipated the black power movement of the middle and late 1960's, and had done little to contend with its demands in colleges and universities[20, pp. 3-4; 9, p. 15]. The interview data gathered thus far strongly indicate that few faculty at the time of the black disruptions were planning or had planned to modify curriculum to accommodate the concerns of blacks. A review of the undergraduate offerings of 250 sociology departments across the country indicates that during the period 1967-1972 less than 30 percent added courses in the race and ethnic relations fields. Some departments, of course, added black faculty, but that was largely a consequence of government pressures to recruit and retain minority staff. Faculties were caught as short as administrators in not anticipating and responding to the black studies movement. This somewhat blemishes their indignant claim that administrators bypassed them in dealing with black militants and their persistent demands for black studies.

Administrators, in choosing the parties with whom they would bargain, bypassed two other important groups: established black scholars on campus, who were less enthusiastic than radical students about black studies, and the moderate, integrationist, and largely middle-class black students who were making their way to and through the university without any special courses or other concessions [8, p. 424; 4, pp. 164-65]. Neither of them was strongly committed to black power on campus. However, they hesitated to take strong public positions against those who now claimed to represent all blacks. It is a good measure of white administrators' naivete that they were willing to take the militant claim unreservedly and to enhance and dignify it with their acquiescence [16, p. 5; 18, p. 159]. Traditionally, whites have been the ones who legitimated whatever power blacks might have had in this society. And this has had a very conservative influence on potential black leadership. In the case of black studies, however, it was the militant separatists who were legitimized, at least temporarily, while integrationists were ignored.

This could be seen immediately in the strong voice accorded militants after the program was authorized and curriculum and faculty were being selected. Established faculty, by implication, and in some instances specifically, were judged incompetent to teach the new programs, and were not consulted in the selection of people who were to teach. In responding to black students as they did, administrators added strongly novel elements to decision-making in a new and rather broadly defined area. Such inclusion, however, contained the possibility of cooptation of black militant students by the very institution they had so vehemently attacked [6, p. 97].

In some sociology departments there were serious differences among the faculty on the black studies thrust. This was likely to be the case in those departments with strong contingents of young white "radical" sociologists. In most departments, however, white faculty tended to be opposed, or where the movement was weak and non-threatening, to be indifferent. Although black militant students might not have understood academic decision-making very well, they did know that persuading departments to make the desired changes would be a long and drawn-out process. Consequently, they "went to the top," confronting deans and presidents rather than department chairmen and individual faculty members. However, they did not neglect monitoring the classes of suspect white professors, frequently challenging both their motives and their competence. Even if departments had been more responsive, it is not likely that the blacks would have been satisified, for control over curriculum "relevant" to blacks would have remained in the same white hands. It is difficult to identify prior situations in which students were given so much control over curriculum and faculty as the black militants were during the last three or four years. One disengaged sociologist remarked that the experience initially was "scarifying," but that in time black students on joint committees tended to lose interest or to feel frustrated by the complexity of the issues with which the committees were dealing. However, it was not only in selecting faculty and courses that this black student power was exercised; established professors came under heavy pressure if they offered anything deemed racially relevant by black students.

Elsewhere I have dealt with response of white faculty in some detail and explored the options open to them [21, pp. 8-18]. White faculty resistance would have been stronger had administrators taken a forthright position. Fifty out of 150 white sociologists interviewed expressed the belief that if things came to a showdown with black militants in the classroom or the research center, the professor could expect little help from the administration. One sociologist has written:

> I have been impressed with the extent to which, when universities are under pressure, it's much easier to give in by encouraging the scholar to stop doing whatever he's doing that bothers someone than it is to run the risk of supporting him vigorously. We are used to this as an "academic freedom" issue when it involves right-wing attacks on the political views of professors. However, if the issue gets more complex than that, one discovers how thinly institutionalized the norms of academic freedom are within the universities, and how small is the price most university people are willing to pay to maintain someone else's academic freedom . . . At ___ the Chancellor made an agreement with the Black Students' Union to clear research proposals and other research activities dealing with them [blacks].

Another professor of sociology in a school were black-instigated violence was part of the black studies drive, wrote to the then president, who had been less than forthright in dealing with black militants, as follows:

> I have been collecting materials for the past eighteen months for a course on the history of African anti-colonial movements. I cannot offer that course now because at this proud university I do not believe that I could objectively criticize blacks without being called a bigot and being coerced. If that occurred I know that I could not count on the support of your administration.

Still another wrote in similar vein: "I would not touch this area [problems of the black ghetto] of research on this campus nor would I feel free to hold seminars on the subject . . . unless the black community relinquished their idea of censoring participants."

The strength of black militants and the weaknesses of white (and probably black also) administrators prompted a fourth social scientist to write: "Self-censorship is taking place at_____now. I have edited my lectures. . .because we do not have confidence that we will not stand alone against those who would use coercive means to express their disagreement."

Another prominent figure in the decision-making picture is the director of the black studies program. Some of his power, of course, depends on the structure, but much of it hinges on his on-campus black constituency. In the process of developing black studies, the director usually obligates himself to black student activists who claim that if it were not for them, the director would never have been appointed, or would not now be able to continue in office. The director in turn may be able to mobilize these articulate blacks to defend his program from intra-institutional attack or to take the offensive and conquer academic territory claimed by others. This point was made by at least half of the black studies directors with whom I held interviews. One of them at a large, prestigious state university in the midwest declared candidly: "If it were not for the Black Student Union, I wouldn't be here. And if it didn't support me, I would probably be fired. I don't have much clout, but I probably wouldn't have any if it weren't for the B.S.U." One older and insecure director at a high-ranking private school in the East, was equally candid when he said, "I would not think of making a significant move without consulting the black students in the program, particularly those who are active. This department differs from others because we really do have student participation in a lot of decisions: curriculum, recruiting, faculty selection, and the like, while the other [department] students are involved in only a ritualistic way."

However, the director is by no means without counters of his own. For one thing, he controls a certain number of jobs, clerical and semi-professional, and can offer them to those students who will support and defend him against his critics. Another lever is the dependence of black students on his favorable recommendations for desirable jobs or for admission to good graduate programs, although current "affirmative action" programs, emphasizing racial quota hiring or graduate school admission, may reduce the significance of his endorsement. Another director, who didn't particularly care for his job, said that "when the black students start giving me a tough time, I try to reason with them. But when that fails, I say, and I mean it, that I will resign. They know how hard it would be to replace me and they calm down." Finally, the director may have an advantage, not in the active interest of students, but in their lack of interest, in shaping the black studies program. In this circumstance he can make a great many decisions without much fear of being attacked by his own constituency. If attacked, however, he has a good defense, and can chastize black students for their prior indifference. Some of the directors I interviewed remarked on the changes taking place in black student participation, noting it had declined from a peak reached a year or two years ago, and reduced the risk that directors would be caught between crossfires of student factions. Several directors were concerned about the lack(rather than high

intensity) of student interest, one of them remarking that "unless the black students speak up a lot more than they are, we will not get separate departmental status."

While black student participation in decision-making has been somewhat regularized during the past year, the goals and means of future development are far from settled. Certainly, no one can conclude that there has been or will be a return to the *status quo ante* simply because violence has been reduced and confrontations toned down. Recent instances of demonstrations and sit-ins, such as occurred at Harvard in April of last year when the Pan-African Liberation Committee occupied central administrative offices in Massachusetts Hall, should be an antidote for any new complacency. Nor should we conclude that no real changes have taken place in power arrangements in academe, however beckoning such a view might be. But, we should also resist the temptation to underestimate the capacity of the university to co-opt, embrace, and domesticate its severest racial and ethnic critics, whose goal may later be seen as gaining entry into the academic system, rather than changing it radically.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND FACULTY SELECTION

If we look at the curriculum of black studies, we are likely to be struck by two of its major features: emphasis on developing black pride and identity on the one hand, and equipping blacks to participate in the solution of contemporary race relations problems on the other. A good example will be found in the Afro-American Studies Program at the University of Houston whose purpose, it is declared, is: (1) to emphasize the cultural and historical heritage of black Americans and the contributions of black people to both Afro-American and world civilations; (2) to provide courses which will analyze and critically examine the sociological, psychological, economic, and political aspects of the community as it exists in the United States; and (3) to provide a program which will be relevant to the needs of the black community and courses which will relate to the problems of the community [10, p. 2]. Most of the black studies programs claim that their students will be able to move into at least semiprofessional occupations or enter graduate and professional schools for further training. Stress on this outcome is a result in part of criticism, from both black and white scholars, that the black studies major will be unable to find a job since he will have no basic skill; nor will he be able to enter graduate programs since he will have failed to become minimally acquainted with an established body of knowledge [2, pp. 34-38].

What is most striking about black studies curricula is the insistence by most advocates that only blacks are competent to determine courses to be offered and only blacks, but not necessarily all blacks, are competent to teach them [15, pp. 1-36; 12, p. 433]. Both claims challenge directly two basic assumptions in higher education: that competence to make decisions on course divisions and their specific content resides in the hands of scholars who have mastered knowledge in a given area, and that competent teaching is a function of the scholar's knowledge of the subject and his pedagogical skill, not of his race or his racial experience. While the roles of emotion, ideology, and racial experience are recognized as elements in the scholar's behavior, they have usually been defined as liabilities to be overcome, not as assets to be capitalized. Indeed, the assumptions that knowledge is universal and that universal criteria should govern the selection of those who profess it are at the very core of the scholarly community's values. That women and blacks have been arbitrarily excluded from that community does not mean that rationality and fairness are unobtainable or that the ideal arrangement should not or cannot be pursued. However, it is not at all reassuring to realize that had the hiring of female and black scholars been left solely to the white males, little or nothing would have been done. One young professor at a west coast school, who recently was named acting chairman of his department of sociology when the regular chairman took a two-year leave, was warned by his predecessor: "Whatever you do, don't hire any women or niggers, even if we have to give up a position; don't hire any women or niggers." None were hired.

The question of the quality of the black studies curriculum and of its teachers is one that academic institutions will have to face in the near future. Few of them are doing so at present, pleading insufficient time for doing the appropriate measurements which themselves have become highly controversial. However, some judgements are now being passed and acted upon. For example, black studies courses in a number of schools are losing enrollments after peaking a year or two ago. Both black and white students complain that the courses have low intellectual content and tend to be repetitious. They register their dissatisfaction by dropping out. It is worth noting that most of the programs which at one time admitted only blacks have recently been opened to whites. In part this was the result of the application of antisegregation rules in public institutions, but it was also an effort to bolster enrollments by admitting whites. Only a short time before, they had been excluded by such rules as,

"Only those students whose great, great, great grandmothers were slaves will be admitted to courses in black studies." The desegregation of black studies may increase as black students acquire in high school or junior college those identity experiences which separate black studies courses provided only a short time ago. As black students look toward graduation and employment, they realize they will have to mingle with whites and that interracial contacts will not only be acceptable but also may even be sought out and cultivated. The old school tie, black-and-white-striped, may have more then sentimental significance.

In a few schools, such as the University of California at Riverside, black studies courses are now taught at a relatively high level and graded stringently, the black studies GPA being lower than that in sociology. This is most unusual, however, for marginal students, black and white, find that they can offset their low grades in regular courses by scoring high (sometimes automatically) in black studies courses. In this circumstance, black studies courses have a negative functional value for regular departments which can shunt poor performers to "black" courses where they can earn, or have bestowed upon them, passing grades. This is one of the reasons why some social science faculties have moderated their earlier strong opposition to black studies.

There is the likelihood that colleges and universities will develop a two-or three-track curriculum as relaxed entrance requirements lead to an increasingly heterogeneous student population, the lower components of which will include a disproportionately large number of blacks [11, p. 42]. Instructors in black studies will likely grade students high only to see them fail in regular courses in which previously established norms are followed. This development is likely to generate student pressure against content and grades in courses outside ethnic and racial studies. And marginal students may receive strong backing from the black counselors who regard them as their constituencies and clients. They may be championed as well by "radical" faculty who see an opportunity to attack the university and to force compromise of its established gauges of performance. A professor who graded on a single standard would fail a great many more blacks than whites, leading to his being branded "racist" and "bigot." I found that a good one-third of the sociologists I interviewd feared just this sort of labelling and tried to discourage blacks from enrolling or continuing in their classes. "Those I can't get rid of I give Bs to: I can't stand all the hassling if I don't give them a high grade," said one sociologist, whose course in theory was required of all sociology majors which in his department included a number of blacks.

There are, however, other developments which promise improvement in the quality of black studies curricula. Directors of some of the programs I studied were scholars in their own right, and quite sensitive to criticism that black studies was academically deficient. They were unwilling to sacrifice quality for growth and were disposed to use whatever talent, black and white, that was available. Others were aware of their own intellectual and academic handicaps and were trying to overcome them through further graduate work and by seeking the help of able white associates. Those directors who held to high requirements for faculty (at least a fourth of black studies directors I interviewed took this stance) not infrequently came under fire from militant students and disappointed applicants. One result was increased support from the established white scholars who accepted an obligation to help those observing academic norms to which the whites were committed. A good example can be seen in Afro-American Studies at Yale [25].

About half of the black studies directors indicated that they had neither sought nor received much help from white sociologists and other social scientists. A number of them had refused help when it was offered—out of varied motives. Some of them candidly admitted that they felt inadequate in relating to white experts. Others said they did not believe that white scholars now had very much to offer since they had been so wrong about the black experience in the past. One black sociologist, who had been a close observer of the black studies movement, in commenting on the prospectus for the present research, wrote:

> It is indeed understandable that white sociologists who have elected race relations as a primary area of study may now be undergoing a crisis of identity of...ego and role. At the same time, however, it is my feeling that such crises are inevitable in American society, as blacks, perhaps more than members of any other group, know so well. The establishment of Black Studies programs was overdue, and already I am certain that they have had a significant influence on black, positive identity. The question is, I think, not whether their subject matter is legitimate, but rather why it took them so long to emerge.

Exclusion of white experts from black studies programs, as the above and other responses suggest, is justified on still another ground: that in building positive identity black students require role models of blacks who are scholarly and proud of their heritage and able to articulate if for others, models

that will give the lie to the derogatory stereotypes about blacks held by both black and white students [23, p. 51]. Only an accomplished black, it is held, can provide such a model. He is not merely imparting knowledge, but also directing a kind of group therapy beneficial to young blacks severely blemished psychologically by their experiences in American society. White scholars have only rarely defined their role as providing psychological uplift for their students, black or white. And in present circumstances it is difficult to see how they could, even if they desired to do so. A few of them, however, might be sufficiently "Black in spirit," according to Nathan Hare, to last in a black studies program.

It is by no means clear at this point that black teachers can generate positive self-images among black students. A poorly prepared and intellectually shallow black teacher, of which there are a great many in black studies, would only reinforce the feelings of inadequacy to be found among black students, indicating that when blacks had the opportunity to do so, they failed to measure up to minimal academic standards. Such a possibility helps account for the fact that members of some black studies faculties have: (1) limited their associations with white experts in their field; (2) discouraged bright students—white and black—from enrolling in their courses; and (3) conducted their classes in an authoritarian manner, brooking no critical discussion of central issues.

The curricula in black studies have undergone considerable change and are likely to continue to do so. Where programs were quite hastily established there was little time for administrative and curricula planning, and it was anticpated that additions and deletions would be made as experience indicated. Furthermore, neither blacks nor whites on campus had given much thought to the content of courses which were eventually offered. All kinds of ad hoc arrangements were made, the scheduling of classes depending on who was immediately available and willing to teach them. Black lawyers, social workers, doctors, ministers, government officials, and protest and betterment spokesmen—all were recruited as part time faculty or guest lecturers. At the same time, the more affluent public and private institutions "raided" the predominantly black schools in the southern and adjacent states, offering their professors rank, salaries, and autonomy of which they could not have even dreamed a few years previously. Administrators urged regular departments to seek joint arrangements with black studies to hire black scholars and strengthen the black studies curriculum. Departments were pressured to add courses focussing specifically on black history, culture, sociology, art, literature, and philosophy. Some established departments did hastily add new courses in the race and ethnic areas, hoping to pre-empt the field before the proposed or recently established black studies programs could get started. However, this did not occur on the scale that black studies directors have claimed. The usual resistance of college-wide curriculum committees was surprisingly absent, and in many cases "black" course approval was automatic. Black studies advocates quite candidly indicated that they expected the new programs to be permanent and to be expanded to include research and graduate components. In some cases the courses included instruction in revolutionary ideologies, "decolonization" and urban guerrila warfare—all duly accredited, and sometimes taught by experienced militants, who stressed application of the knowledge gained to the campus itself and to the black ghetto. A striking example can be found in the 1968-1969 curriculum in black studies at Federal City College, Washington, D.C.

White scholars who objected to the low intellectual level of black studies programs and to their political content found themselves characterized as racists and bigots or, at best, as monopolizers of fields of knowledge whose vested interest was being threatened. They could not count on much administrative support as was previously indicated, and colleagues were not likely to be very helpful unless their own immediate interests were at stake. The young white radicals on the faculty and among the graduate students, not then realizing that within a scant year or two, handicapped by their pale skins, they would be competing directly with blacks for a rapidly decreasing number of jobs in academe, supported the drive for black studies. They saw the latter as still another, welcome challenge not only to the university which they disliked, but also to the larger "establishment" for which they had no love.

But it can be expected, I think, that the curriculum of black studies programs will be improved over time. Review of existing offerings is now under way at a number of major universities, including, most prominently, Harvard. One of the purposes of the National Association of Black, Urban and Ethnic Directors is to establish model curricula for black studies and minimal standards for course content. There is a strong possibility that out of this effort will come an organization which will review and certify programs on a nationwide basis. Critical questions are now being asked by both black and white faculty members. The up-until-now silent critics in the administration and faculty have regained their composure while the weaknesses and failures of black studies are increasingly apparent. The high scholarly norms and values to be found in

parts of the university are bound to rub off on black studies, including a strain towards academic respectability and a desire among black faculty to have intellectual approval as well as political power in the university community. Necessary to attainment of these objectives is development of black studies curriculum that meets the same standards of quality as others in the social sciences and humanities.

My guarded optimism about the future of black studies may be misplaced; I probably have too much confidence in the capacity of the academic environment to socialize and resocialize the new entrants including black faculty and black students. Perhaps, also, I am reluctant to perceive clearly just what the black studies thrust has done to the university. My interview data indicate that many white scholars who initially responded negatively to black studies have not changed their views. However, they have reconciled themselves to the permanent presence of black studies on campus. More than a little embittered, these men of learning shut the black studies program out of their minds, avoid any contact with it, never challenge it directly, and try to isolate it as a foreign object that has lodged itself tenaciously in the academic organism. They display a certain pride in claiming that they know little about what is going on "in that academic ghetto" and that they do not really care. "It may be here forever," they say, "but we don't have to like it." That these men are not opposed to blacks as such is seen in their strong support for recruiting "qualified" black graduate students and faculty in their respective departments and by their willingness to work closely with those black students at both the undergraduate and graduate levels who "have a disciplinary orientation and not a racial one." They believe that to the degree that a black student becomes a sociologist, or economist, or political scientist, he ceases to be black and finds that elusive, positive identity in the mastery of a difficult and valued subject. A curriculum that simply enables the black student to feel oppressed, dislike whites, and celebrate his origins and what he now is will not do. At most, it can provide only a cathartic first step.

RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

I am cautious in exploring the research implications of black studies for two reasons: they are exceedingly complex and far-reaching, and only a quite limited amount of work has been done on them. Black studies affects university research in two ways. First, it influences research undertaken by other components of the institution. Second, it can undertake research on its own initiative, studying those issues deemed by its faculty to be significant. Black studies advocates have shown less than enthusiastic respect for research on blacks and black-white relations done in the past. At times they seem quite unaware that many of the concepts and empirical findings which they use to condemn the racism of the white society were developed by white anthropologists (Herskovitz), sociologists (Coleman), historians (Aptheker), psychologists (Pettigrew), demographers (Taeuber), and a whole stream of other white scholars who need not be enumerated here. Equally notable are the highly ambivalent responses of black studies faculties to the historical, sociological, and psychological research done by blacks such as Carter Woodson, W.E.B. DeBois, Rayford Logan, E. Franklin Frazier, Charles Johnson, Ira Reid, and Kenneth Clark. This research frequently supported, or was supported by, the research undertaken by the white counterparts of these men. Black researchers, like whites, are not immune to that universal disease of onesided selectivity in doing their own research or in gauging that of others. "Telling it like it is" may be just as difficult for blacks as it is for whites, with color being a handicap as often as it is an asset.

What is most disturbing about the current race research scene is the insistence of black studies people that only blacks are competent to do research on blacks, and by implication, that only members of other racial and ethnic minorities have the background essential for researching their fellows. This, however, has not prevented blacks from attempting to study whites and offering lengthy conclusions about them, nor has it yet barred whites from continuing to study blacks, although, admittedly, the rules of the game are being changed.

It will probably be several years before the influence of black studies on researchers, particularly in the social sciences and humanities, can be appraised with even a moderate degree of accuracy. However, some general observations can be made on the basis of what we have learned thus far. Research programs lodged in black studies departments or in interdisciplinary porgrams have only recently gotten under way. Both staff and funds are limited while the qulaity of completed research is not altogether impressive. Not all black studies structures have research components, and planned research may be substantially reduced or eliminated entirely in face of current budget cuts and reduced growth rates. Much of the research that has been done, understandably, focuses on immediate problems of development and refinement of present programs. While research may be done directly by a black studies department, it can still be influential by developing a consultant or veto role in the research proposed by other departments; the university itself may be resistant, however, recognizing that black

student pressures for such involvement will probably be much less than for undergraduate curriculum.

Some private foundations now require that black researchers be included at top positions in any projects having to do with blacks. A similar policy may be adopted by government agencies dispensing research monies. Non-black researchers would then have to reach agreement with black studies people or with individual black scholars in order to secure support.

One reason why black studies programs were able to develop as rapidly as they did was the support provided by the major private foundations. With these contributors turning elsewhere, black studies programs will have to depend more and more on "hard" money; this does not bode well for development of a good research section. Some "relevant" research may be done by black scholars within an established department, bypassing black studies programs. Research undertaken by black studies units will be aimed at enhancement of black self-concept, history, culture, and society on the one hand, and at criticism of whites and white institutions on the other. Black studies researchers see research not merely as a tool for increasing knowledge, but as a weapon through which the white-dominated society may be challenged. (I have no quarrel with action or policy research as such; I am concerned that it be appropriately identified so that evaluators will have sufficient information for passing judgment.)

One frequent complaint of black studies directors is that they have no research components or that the existing one is very poorly supported by the university. Some lament that when black studies were being established, there was no non-negotiable demand that a research dimension be included. "We made a big mistake two years ago," said one of them, "when the university was a lot more willing than it is now to make concessions. We should have held out for research support; I think we could have gotten it; but now, I don't know." Another observed: "We are going to lose majors and graduate students to other departments unless we get a research program. I think this is a deliberate road block put by the administration to make sure that we remain a weak and ineffective bunch." Still another commented in response to a question: "The big problem is getting research started. If we just had some money, I'm sure a lot of both black and white scholars would be applying, especially now that *their* usual sources of funds are drying up."

Some of the black studies directors and their associates recognized that they would be handicapped by the exclusion on non-black scholars. "There is a lot of pressure on me," said one of them, "to have an all-black staff, and this I have done up until now. But not many of our people are really trained in research and the pickings are pretty slim." He continued, "I am convinced there are some good white scholars around with the right approach and they could be very helpful if we were in a position to hire them. About all I can do now is try to persuade them to try something in which we are interested on their own."

As for established black scholars, they respond variably to the possibilities of doing research in cooperation with black studies departments. However, an outsider is likely to be impressed by their insistence on doing their own thing. At least half of the twenty with whom I talked indicated that they did not want to risk being labelled "race sociologists" or "race economists," titles which both white students and faculty seemed eager to confer. A young black sociologist at a New Jersey institution emphasized, "I am primarily a social psychologist and that's the area in which I want to do research. It might not have anything to do with black-white relations. I have been halftime in black studies, but I'm cutting back to only two courses a year. Do you know that what I am most interested in right now is deviancy among middle-class white kids?"

Another young black sociologist, this one at a midwestern state university, emphasized his reservations about doing research under black studies auspices. "It is a low prestige program on this campus," he said, "and I am afraid there would be too much pressure to come up with favorable results. And you should certainly know that getting on at a place like this is done through your own department and that it depends on what you publish." The possibility that research and publication as a gauge of scholarly productivity might be discarded in favor of one emphasizing community service, public policy development, and "action research," he dismissed with a knowing smile.

Black scholars who do engage in cooperative research with black studies programs are attracted by the possibilities that their work will have some bearing on race relations policies both on and off campus. They have relatively weak attachments to their regular department, and see advancement coming through transfers to other institutions or promotion to higher administrative jobs in their present schools. Both routes are wide open to black researchers who may find that the opportunity to influence university-wide policies and decisions is more tempting than making scholarly contributions to their respective fields or to the black studies program. These scholars are likely to perceive black studies research as a good and necessary experience for going on to more prestigeous and influential roles. A black female historian who was directing a

black studies program in the Washington, D.C. area, pointed out that she did not think black studies would expand much beyond its present size, and that more important would be the advancement of blacks to policy-making positions. No doubt, able black scholars will come under increasing pressure to take administrative positions; research in black studies programs is invariably going to suffer.

White scholars who might have been helpful in shaping research in black studies have rarely been fully utilized and in many cases not called upon at all. At a midwestern university an older, outstanding white sociologist regarded by many of his colleagues as *the best* man in minority groups, made appointments twice with a newly selected black studies director only to have them cancelled on short notice and without explanation. The white sociologist would have been paid from sociology departmental funds, and black studies would have been out nothing. Yet, he was not wanted, even while black studies research at that university floundered. At another school a young white sociologist who had done brilliant research in black and white attitudes was not only ignored, but also publicly criticized by the director of a black studies program. His critic was later removed from office for his incompetence, particulary his failure to develop a program with sour I intellectual content. One other example may be appropriate. In a major university in the upper South the black studies director wanted to hire a white sociologist to direct a survey of housing for older black men and women in an effort to relate black studies to problems in the black community. The executive committee turned it down on the grounds that it would not be appropriate to retain a white for such a task, even if he were to be under the direction of the black studies chief. The survey was never done.

The exclusion of white researchers has been accompanied by a rejection of older black scholars who could make a significant contribution. They have been turned down because they expressed reservations about the separatist and highly political emphasis of research under black studies auspices. One black sociologist at a predominantly black school in the East reported that he had been approached by the local black studies director and invited to submit a prospectus for the study of black families in the area. He was responsive to the idea at first but then backed away when the director told him that the research "must be a hard answer to the *Moynihan Report* and show how strong the black family really is." Rejection was also based on their having high regard for earlier sociologists, black and white, who had pioneered in the study of race relations. "When I told the director [of black studies] that I thought Frazier had really bested Herskovits on African survivals, he hit the ceiling, and I knew right then we weren't going to get anywhere. We didn't."

Another black sociologist reported that he had approached the director of the local black studies program for clarification of a public statement that what was needed was "black research, done by black scholars for black people." The sociologist was particularly concerned about the meaning of "black research" and asked how it differed from sociological research or from research done by whites. "If you don't know," the director replied, "there is no way I can explain it to you. You have been trained in the white man's schools and methods and they just don't have any relevance for blacks. White research has always been done to keep us down; whether it's been done by whites or blacks, it's still white research."

In some of the programs studied, white researchers were not categorically rejected. However, they were used in a quite limited way, being called upon to help resolve certain kinds of technical and methodological problems, particularly those having to do with quantitative analysis of data, or to consult on limited aspects of research. In no case were they asked to organize and develop projects. In only three or four instances were genuinely joint black-white research projects undertaken. These usually involved black militants and radical young whites whose ideologies were more or less compatible, and were marked by a willingness of whites to pay subordinate or at least inconspicuous roles. A major point of agreement was that most, if not all, sociological research was establishment-oriented. They proposed to do "radical" research which could be distinguished from other brands in the final analysis only by the interpretations placed on the data. Technically and methodologically, "radical" research did not appear to be distinctive, only to have a much more pronounced ideological component. Collaboration was reinforced by social activities, and personal friendships across racial lines were acted out in informal small group situations which were not sufficiently public to bring down black suspicion of the black researcher.

It is understandable that research in black studies programs might now focus on immediate internal issues; for example, on the teaching of black history, culture, art, and literature. The instructional problems are crucial and immediate, most enrollees being poorly prepared in a conventional sense and requiring new pedagogical approaches, strategies, and methods. Other research is likely to emphasize immediate problems in the ghetto to which black studies programs seek to relate in an activist way.

The investigators reject the idea of scholarly detachment and the goal of developing general propositions verified by empirical data. "We can't afford those luxuries," said one black studies research supervisor; "we want to change the ghetto and the people in it, not just understand it through the eyes of sociologists, or economists, or psychologists. And we want our students to learn how to change it; any research we do is going to be pointed in that direction." And another remarked in a similar vein, "We want to bring the university to the ghetto and the ghetto to the university; our research is what you would call action research. And it may not be all that different from what the whites have done in the past; they just tried to support a different kind of action: keeping the blacks down. And they were pretty successful. We aim to pull them up."

However, if black studies staff members are to do research, they require training in theory and methodology of a particular discipline. In some cases they prove to be good technicians and their performances are favorably recognized by both black and white scholars. Some of the white sociologists I interviewed expressed pleasant surprise that the black graduate students included some who were sophisticated and could master difficult methodology quite effectively. On the other hand, black studies directors expressed some apprehension that promising black students might become very discipline-oriented and find that they got more satisfaction from simply cultivating their expertise than from trying to apply it to problems of the black ghetto or black history. One director told me "I have some mixed feelings about Charles _____. I am glad to see him doing so well in his graduate work, especially in those highly technical research courses which blacks aren't supposed to be able to understand. I'm proud of that. But I'm afraid he's going to get carried away, further and further from black studies and the ghetto. Am I in the business of producing middle-class Negroes?"

Another reason why research may never become a major element in black studies is the likelihood that an increasing portion of black faculty will be affiliated with regular departments and will do their research under those auspices. Thus, research on black education or black history will be done by black scholars in the school of education or the department of history, using funds acquired independently of black studies. The hesitancy of a number of black studies programs in making joint appointments with established departments has meant self-deprivation of research resources which could have been controlled to some degree. As pressures mount on regular departments to hire minorities, blacks will be in a position to choose among numerous alternatives, not limited to programs that employ only blacks. Also, in regular departments the black scholar's professional skills will be professionally recognized, not just racially applauded. There may well be a certain advantage in being black in these circumstances for his white associates will define his role as a critical one on which as a group they are dependent: the black scholar gives them a certain protection and provides vicarious access to a black world which they could not otherwise enter.

The extent to which a black studies program on campus can influence the research undertaken by other components of the university is a question on which I do not have an impressive amount of concrete data. As pointed out previously, if a black studies unit has research funds, it can initiate research on its own, or it can bargain with departments or individual scholars to undertake inquiry. But black studies may have a certain, in some cases large, amount of negative or veto power over research. One of the major grievances of the black studies movement was that the colleges and universities had used their resources for studies aimed at facilitating white control over blacks and were thus an instrument of oppression albeit more sophisticated and more respectable than the welfare bureaucracy or the police. The movement demanded two things: (1) that research deemed by its spokesman to be harmful to blacks be eliminated, and (2) that the university engage in research which would "tell it like it is" about black history, culture, and society, meaning that they be presented in a favorable way.

Several strategies have been employed in efforts to influence, if not control, research affecting blacks. One is to persuade researchers to explore issues in which black studies people are interested. Being noncoersive, this approach may be effective with both black and white scholars who are already sympathetic with blacks and who could be expected to do projects which would in some way be helpful to them. Lack of good rapport with established departments, however, has meant only limited success for friendly persuasion. Another strategy has been for the black studies spokesman, backed by black militants, to demand that all research concerning blacks be cleared through all-black research committees. It was reported to me that in some cases administrators made secret agreements or reached "clear understandings" with the Black Student Union and the Black Studies Department that any research affecting blacks would be cleared with them in advance. As far as I could determine, such agreements were never formalized and made public as an element in university research policies.

Moreover, I do not know to what extent the obligations were carried out and how many projects were approved or disapproved.

However, if blacks as a pluralist group were given such power, it would not be entirely out of keeping with university policies of the past, wherein a whole series of such groups were accorded, or effectively claimed, review and censorship privileges over research touching on their interests. In this respect blacks have not differed very much from employers, trade unions, Catholics, Jews, or even college professors. (I might note that while I was doing field work, white sociologists who used survey research to probe attitudes of other people were the most resistant to my efforts to examine their own attitudes towards black studies.) Blacks might examine with a calm eye what researchers have done, open to the possibility that a white skin is not an automatic gauge of motive or competence. They would discover that some of the most devastating critiques of white subordination of blacks were done by whites—historians, sociologists, theologians, and psychologists. Also, it would be helpful if they would grant the possiblility that white researchers found their careers jeopardized rather than enhanced by their choice to study black-white relations in such a critical manner. The efforts to censor research at the source are likely to increase as ethnic groups form defensive organizations and become increasingly concerned with maintaining a favorable group image.

One consequence of efforts of black studies to control research on campus will be a decrease in work on blacks, as white scholars (and blacks as well) back away from projects which they can't control and which may be fraught with great professional and personal difficulties. Young researchers may deal themselves out, agreeing with their potential black critics that whites can't understand blacks because they have not had the same or similar racial experience. Moreover, they are likely to say, as a young sociologist said to me, "Blacks ought to do the research on blacks and whites should get out of the field or never get into it. We may be sympathetic but we shouldn't try to do research." He wasn't prepared to say, however, that research on whites should be undertaken only by members of that group.

Black studies programs can influence research in still another way: by collaborating with black organizations in the ghetto to exclude projects initiated by the university or at least to promote noncooperation among the people studied. A good example is found in Boston where the Boston Black United Front has established the Community Research Review Committee. The committee "reviews research proposals and projects and makes recommendations to the community-at-large on whether or not the projects are felt to be in the best interests of the Black community." One of its recent acts was to condemn and urge black parents not to participate in the Roxbury Infant Program, which was a study of the "effects of intervention on infants' mental health" conducted by two research physicians at the Roxbury Infant Clinic. The relations of the several black studies programs in the Boston area to the committee appear to be quite informal and tenuous. However, potentially they can play important parts by advising the committee about proposed research and by seeking its support in opposition to certain university-sponsored research of which the black studies departments disapprove. At the same time, Committee endorsement of research proposed by black studies units might improve chances of its being supported by the university and funding agencies.

Further complicating the picture is the appearance in the black community in recent years of a growing number of privately owned and profit-making "research and consulting" agencies, claiming to be able to conduct or to facilitate research in the ghetto. Of somewhat questionable repute, lacking in significant research experience, and staffed by hardly minimally qualified blacks, these agencies seek contracts with organizations operating programs or engaged in research which involves gathering data in black areas. It is not clear how such agencies could or do help except by limited public relations work and by placing a black sign of approval on a particular project. One suspects that such "research and consulting" is only still another "hustle" that sharp black operators are laying down in a situation in which significant amounts of money are involved, and where those agencies, including the universities, are willing to meet the price. Again, one must note that if black hustlers have gotten into the research racket, they had plenty of examples of whites to follow. After all, how different is the research hustler in the ghetto from some of the quite successful and even less productive white research operators in academe during the last two decades? Could it be that the objection is more to blacks as such than to the behavior in which they engage?

With regard to research concerns in higher education itself, one prophecies with no little risk. Both blacks and whites may, for somewhat different reasons, desire either to postpone or prevent altogether certain types of research; for example, a critical exploration of the comparative performances

of black and white students admitted under collapsed or open enrollment policies, or a comparison of test scores of black and white applicants for professional schools, or measurement of the intellectual content of courses offered in black studies curricula, or exploration of the decision-making process with respect to black studies with the university, or independent and anonymous surveys of the feelings of blacks toward whites on campus or vice versa. The list could be extended almost indefinitely.

Each of these issues has intellectual and academic significance, as well as heavy emotional and political coloration, within and outside the university. If they were researched and conclusions published, a great deal of turmoil, and in some instances even violence, would follow. It is likely that the researchers, however competent and careful, would risk public denunciation and even bodily harm. How much easier it would be to study something else or, even better, do no research in the area at all? No doubt, much research in academe doesn't get done for these very reasons, and as minority groups increase in number, sensitivity, and power on the campus, the internal race and ethnic issues may become a kind of forbidden research territory. "Ethnic heritage" studies, for which federal funds may be available, introduced for purposes of providing minorities in the university with a usable past, could become an alternative to hard historical or sociological exploration. Or scholars may be encouraged to research problems in which results will be "positive" and thought to be immediately useful to minority students. Examples would be studies of ghetto linguistics which would facilitate use of English as a second language or contribute to the black student's self- and group respect by treating his language as valuable and functionally useful, or even necessary, in the subcultural setting. Conceivably, such research could have a "Hawthorne" effect, with the process of inquiry itself conveying to subjects studied a sense of their own greater worth.

It can be and is argued that social scientists should deliberately take sides and use research to solve critical problems in academe, particularly those of minority students. Indeed, critics of conventional research, in which personal bias is minimized and "objectivity" is honored, insist that the university can no longer afford the luxury of "abstracted empiricism." The deliberately partisan white researcher may now be the only one acceptable, if indeed he is acceptable, to on-campus minorities and to the funding agencies and the university. Minority researchers are likely to have obligations to their on-campus constituencies and to order their research behavior accordingly. A selective process thus comes into play and research may be rather heavily freighted ideologically. This, on its face, is not necessarily "bad." I am concerned, however, to mark the probability that less partisan and less problem-oriented researchers will be either repelled or excluded, and their potential corrective contributions lost.

One of the most challenging pieces of research that might be undertaken within the university would be exploration of the impact of the black studies movement on the institution's structure, functions, and values. Obviously, it would be difficult to disentangle and precisely isolate the effects of this movement from those propelled by Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians, women liberationists (largely white), Marxian-oriented Radicals (almost exclusively white), and a wide range of "cultural" revolutionaries. However, there can be no doubt that the black power and black studies movement offered one of the most forceful challenges to the conventional practices in academe. This in not the point at which to suggest in detail the quesitons to which research should be directed. However, a number of general ones come to mind almost immediately: How has the process of decision-making within the university been affected? Have essentially new policies of admission been adopted on the basis of race rather than merit as customarily defined? Has the very character of the institution undergone change as a consequence of the radical alteration of the student body? What has happened to the role of faculty as racial criteria come to govern the selection of colleagues? What is the significance of student participation in curriculum development and faculty selection and promotion? To what degree has academic freedom been jeopardized as minority students, with the approval and help of "liberal" deans, as at Sacramento State University, drive from campus or into silence scholars with whom they disagree? To what degree have provincial and pluralist norms come to guide institutions whose very name "university" suggests the existence of overarching universal standards for the development of knowledge and for the selection of those competent to receive and expand it?

These are only a few of the questions that might profitably be explored in depth and enable researchers to offer generalizations applicable to most colleges and universities in the country. Perhaps by now intra-university tensions are sufficiently relaxed for researchers to at least make a start at systematic exploration of the outcomes of the turmoil induced by the black studies movement with which we have contended during the last half decade.

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